a great number of animals, thus partially explaining the seemingly small figure for "nomads" cited above. 233 [162]

In spring the kotchir are on the move, leading their flocks of sheep and goats from winter pasturage around Mosul and Erbil to summer grazing in the hills and mountains. The passes and defiles are filled with their animals, an annoying impasse to swift communication, and their black tents line the watercourses and trails. As winter approaches they return once again from the uplands, seeking the warmth of the Jazira plain. In former days their passage could often be turbulent. Because of his flocks, the kotchir must get through, and was accustomed to fight a way if none peaceful could be found. Much of this has lately been changed, for police vehicles with automatic weapons are strong arguments against violence, and the construction of better roads has greatly facilitated movement, although the nomad still has the right of way after dark, and moving a vehicle through the sea of animals blinking in the headlights is difficult. Even then the kotchir constitute one of the most difficult administrative problems of a qaimmaqam, such as that of Rowanduz. He must arbitrate their quarrels in passage (usually a sheep missing from the nomad, or transient flocks in a villager's field) as well as those they cannot settle among themselves. Lastly, as many cross the national border into Iranian Azerbaijan, the qaimmaqam of Rowanduz must arrange their transfer twice each year with the authorities of that country.

221 233 [625] [491] [693] [648]

mudir, "exiled," in his own words, to the country, must account for a nahiya or sub-district, in this case with an average population of some 10,000 souls, with a staff of a few tax-assessors, clerks, a police detachment and servants which together usually numbers less than 30 or 40 men, less than 1/250th of such a population. 647 648 [625]

The lot of the typical mudir is not an enviable one. His chief tasks are those of the great trinity of Middle Eastern administration, the maintenance of order, the collection of taxes, and the selection of army recruits. Because these three demand most of his time and energy, other problems, such as public health, must suffer in comparison. The government headquarters in the central village of a nahiya is usually a decrepit one-storey outpost of mud-brick or rubble, built about an unpaved courtyard. It contains some offices, a guardroom and quarters for the police, and a primitive jail, and boasts neither plumbing, heating, or electricity. The mudir himself is assigned a house, but he can rarely have more than the minimum in furnishings, just as he usually cannot yet afford marriage. He is most often a younger man from 25 to 35 years of age, a lawyer by training, and in high hopes of some better favoured assignment. Moreover, he finds himself an alien in the community, not only because his origins are elsewhere, but also because his social rank does not seem to admit of free intercourse with those he governs. There are, to be sure, mudirs who take a great part in the social life of their nahiyas, but [344] [697]

they are most often older, more experienced men with wife and family. While given a free hand, the mudir is still often on the telephone to Rowanduz, if only to hear the voices of his fellow civil servants, and failing leave to visit Baghdad, Mosul, or some other center of "civilization," seeks every opportunity to find their company in the center itself. "Here I am," said one mudir, "in this village where there is no club, no restaurant, no cinema, and no friends. And after sundown it's all finished."

647 648 [265] [546] [571]

The mudir and his problems will be found again later, for it is necessary here to return to Rowanduz itself and the more important question of the area as a whole. Of the several government buildings in Rowanduz, that which commands primary attention, as it does of the inhabitants of the district, is the serai, so termed after Ottoman custom, for it contains the offices of the qaimmaqam and most of his staff, and is the physical center of the district government. The serai is one of the first buildings to be encountered in the town, standing a hundred yards from the edge of the bluff and commanding a magnificent view of the valley. It is a large, dun-colored, rectangular structure of plastered brick surrounding a partially paved interior court wherein a few ragged trees are to be found. The front of the building is of two storeys, unlike the other three sides which are of one, and is pierced by a large, arched gateway where one or two policemen mount guard during the day. Within the arch is a long brick bench on which a

344 [625] [411]

distinction for robbery and bloodshed, and certainly a part of the usual income of the old chieftains was derived from the exaction of "tolla" or outright kidnapping, either of persons or of goods, just as revenge in a blood feud was one of their outstanding duties. The introduction of better roads and the adoption of modern equipment by police and army have, without question, lessened greatly the frequency of these things, and the contemporary brigand --they still occur--finds himself heavily outgunned. In spite of this unsavory reputation, particularly for revolt, the Kurdish minority of Iraq cannot be said to be the most lawless in the country, for the Muntafiq liwa, a "Marsh Arab" province, is frequently cited as the worst. Although the army may be called upon in exceptional cases, normally the prevention and detection of crime is the work of the police, and their direction within the qadha is charged to the qaimmaqam.

181 579 [628] [177] [491] [625] [704] 625 647 624

Service with the police is quite popular among the poorest classes, particularly among those of the "Marsh Arab" provinces, because, although the pay is extremely small, it is accepted as a substitute for military service and, as a career, offers an escape from agricultural drudgery. Officers are attracted to serve just as they might be to the army or the civil service, and are commissioned after graduation from a special school. They are usually derived from poorer middle-class families and have had a secondary education. There is thus quite a social gap between an officer

625

and his Marsh Arab constable. Enlisted men and non-commissioned officers of the police force receive uniforms, rations, and quarters, although those who can bear the expense may live in private dwellings with their families. The duty uniform of the police consists of a forage cap with a black cloth patch sewed on its front to which a silver badge is pinned, a shirt and tunic with metal buttons, short trousers, wrap-around puttees, and heavy army shoes. The cloth is of olive drab wool in the winter and khaki drill in the summer. The dress uniform, which includes a spiked helmet, encountered in Baghdad and other larger towns, is never seen in Rowandus. Officer's uniforms differ only in that they are of better quality, long trousers may be worn, and a sun helmet may be substituted for the cap. Ranks and insignia are much like those of the army, following--with an Arabic terminology--a British model. The arms of the police, also like those of the army, are the British Enfield rifle for enlisted men and the Webley service revolver for officers. The police and army officers alike have a great predilection for swagger sticks, ranging from slender batons to heavy pieces of wood bound with leather. The Rowandus police detachment has at its disposal several light American vehicles equipped with water-cooled machine-guns and a number of lorries.

The police are assigned in small numbers to the Mudirs, while a larger unit is kept in Rowandus at the

disposal of the qaimmaqam. This latter detachment is not [625]
[illegible] to the serai but occupies a similar, smaller
building of its own a short distance up the road which
serves as a barracks and a garage for the vehicles. How-
ever, the actual direction of the police has its place in [647]
the serai, because the qaimmaqam is its civilian director,
and his assistant, the nemr (Arabic, "official"), an
officer with the rank of lieutenant has an office there.
These officers suffer somewhat in prestige because their [554]
rank was lower than that of many of the army officers of
the neighborhood, and the army tends to look down on the
police. During the summer of 1951, the nemr's adjutant, [661]
also an officer, was extremely unpopular with the towns- [578]
people for the familiar abuse of policemen in comedy,
helping himself to refreshments and other small items at
the expense of the merchants. The daily employment of
the police in Rowandus itself includes watching the
market by day, providing guards for government buildings,
transferring prisoners, and maintaining a patrol in the
streets by night.

Perhaps there are no more favored objects of in- [423]
vestment in the Middle East, no matter how great or how [454]
small the amount involved, than precious metal or land.
To all classes of society these two are tangible objects
of wealth, and of incredibly greater desirability than such
things as bank-notes or bonds, for governments and bankers
are highly variable, but soil or gold are always of value.

The town of Rowandus, as has been noted, has a population of some 5,000 persons, the constitution of which shall be dealt with later. A town of this size qualifies as a municipality (Arabic, baladiya) and the qaimmaqam of Rowandus occupies, in addition to his own office, that of rais baladiya, a position similar to that of an American mayor, save that it is appointive rather than elective. Normally the rais baladiya in Iraq has a headquarters, comparable to the American city hall, and a staff of his own, including a treasurer and other officials. In Rowandus, however, there has not been any particular need for the institution of such a separate body, and "metropolitan" administrative requirements are met through qadha or district facilities.

The problems presented by town administration appear to be very slight. Public order is maintained by the qadha-police and minor violations of the civil code (few of the townspeople have recourse to "tribal law") as well as legal processes are handled directly by the judge. In comparison with the outlying districts, the town is relatively law-abiding, aside from a certain amount of juvenile pilfering. Quarrels among women are quite frequent, the cause most often a fight between their children. Such skirmishes begin with words ("prostitute" is a favorite), and degenerate to hair-pulling or an exchange of blows with kabkabs (a wooden sandal with a leather strap; in Arabic, qubqab or qabqab). The neighbors usually intervene, and rarely, if ever, does such a thing require official attention. Fighting between men is infrequent, but can become

and weavers. Of slightly lower rank than these are the barbers and those engaged in providing food, the bakers, butchers, and meat-roasters. As has been seen, the meat-roaster or kababchi is considered lowly indeed. In the lowest category are to be found the atar or itinerant traders and unskilled labor, the bootblacks, the porters and workers, and the servants. Those engaged by the government, for example, the police, parallel this system. Ordinary policemen have the equivalent status of an unskilled laborer, while the non-commissioned officers enjoy that of the lesser merchants and craftsmen. The third concept, which acts to establish a spectrum ranging from effendi to the lowliest manial, is the question of relative wealth. A mason with a great amount of money or property, in spite of his calling, may enjoy the prestige of one who does not work with his hands. Thus to determine the status of any person within the commoner group, one must ask three questions, whether or not he labors with his hands, if so, the type of his work, and the extent of his wealth.

Within the group of townspeople, although one is usually deferential in conduct to a person of higher status, these things do not have as much importance in everyday etiquette as in marriage and in friendship. In both of the systems outlined, the grand cleavages have been indicated as the gulfs between aristocrat and commoner and between educated and uneducated, but, aside from these, there is an extremely delicate appraisal of relative equality, judged